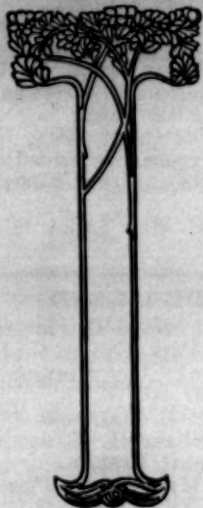


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
35 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 3
No. 2



PRIZE-WINNING ESSAYS

SUFFRAGE, LIKE CRUSADES

COLORADO SUFFRAGE SITUATION

"IF THEY WANT IT"

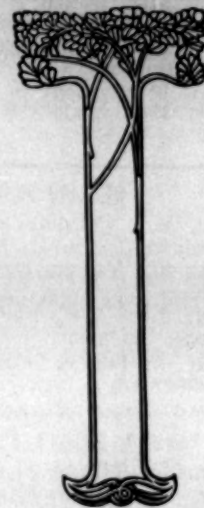
WOMEN SUPERIOR WITHOUT THE
BALLOT

ANALYSIS OF SUFFRAGE
ARGUMENTS

DERAILED FORCES

REVIEW OF "THE UNREST OF
WOMEN"

JUNE
1913



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PRIZE-WINNING ESSAYS

In March the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage offered two prizes of \$100.00 each for the best essays on anti-suffrage submitted in competition. Nearly 1,000 contributors responded, including practically every State in the Union. The originality of ideas presented and the general excellence of the essays submitted made the problem of judging particularly difficult.

Mrs. George Riggs (Kate Douglas Wiggin), Miss Ida Tarbell and Miss Jeanette Gilder, the judges, awarded the prizes to those who wrote the essays printed below.

Later issues of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST will contain other papers submitted in this competition. Its success is an encouraging indication of the widespread and increasing understanding of the futility of woman suffrage. The co-operation of those who took part in it is thoroughly appreciated.

In accordance with the terms of the contest, one prize was awarded to a city resident and the other to a country dweller.

A PLEA FOR REAL PROGRESS

By JULIA D. HENRY, CLEVELAND, OHIO

Those funny little sisters of ours, who are so busy demonstrating their fitness to rule, claim that the only women opposed to suffrage are those who cling to some sturdy oak and peer with timid eyes from his sheltering branches into the big, wide world.

Now, I am no clinging vine. I am managing a successful business, which employs twenty men, and have actively assisted in the election or defeat of various political candidates. And from my experience I am *opposed* to woman suffrage.

The reasons for the faith that is in me are: First, the biological necessity of conserving woman's strength for her great function of motherhood; second, the fundamental difference between woman the individualist and man the gregarious creature; third, the economic need of removing woman from industry and restoring her to the natural duty of home-making, so that she may co-operate rather than compete with man; lastly, the progressive movement of our time, which is bringing in the day when man, the bread-winner, will again be able to wed his woman, and to provide for her and her children.

Woman is inferior to man in bodily strength. To do a man's work woman must consume her vital reserve. Such a woman approaches motherhood a bankrupt. Too often her marriage is barren, or her offspring defective in mind or body. Our debt to nature for the gift of life is the continuance of the race. Beside that duty the privilege of voting is child's play.

When nature gave concentration to the setting hen it was to ensure the hatching of eggs. Likewise has she endowed woman with a narrow and intense interest in life, and for much the same reason. Man is a mixer. From the first tribal war-dance down to the Stock Exchange man has worked with man for common ends, and that is the essence of government. Woman is passionately loyal to her own. She is unmoved by abstract justice and the common good when they conflict with her personal interests. He who governs must seek the common advantage or he will fail. Man has proven capable for the task, while woman's very nature unfits her for it.

Woman is competing with man for his job. They who should be helpmeets are rivals. Because woman is doing his work man is less able to provide a home, and therefore woman must continue to do man's work. And this is the endless chain of our industrial folly. Votes for women would prove only another chain to bind woman to her present false place.

The industrial slavery of women will not last. The spirit of our time spells progress. Already living conditions are improving and capital and labor are coming together to work out the problem of poverty. Within our generation the young man will be able to marry and the young woman will be transferred from the shop to the home. And with her will go the only plausible argument for woman suffrage.

GOOD REASONS FOR OPPOSITION

By METTA FOLGER TOWNSEND, GREENSBORO, N. C.

I am opposed to woman's suffrage because:

First. Among the women of our rural section I do not know one Suffragette. There seems to be unanimous agreement among them that the home gives full scope for all our powers.

Second. I believe that the best element of our home keepers and mothers would be slower to use the ballot than would the riffraff of society.

Third. I fear especially the vote of the red light district.

Fourth. I believe that women need the quiet of home during their child-bearing period, and I fear the effect on the race if the mothers of America continue to push out into public life, thus inviting wrecked nerves for themselves and their children.

Fifth. I do steadfastly believe that civilization has worked toward a right order and been guided by a profound truth when it has delegated the heavier work of life to man, while it has shielded his mate so that she might give herself more freely to the miracle of bearing and nurturing her children.

Sixth. I oppose all specious talk of "rights." Burdened as we are by complex duties of modern life, we should feel grateful that men are still willing to manage the government of our country, and we should realize that they are not withholding the ballot because of any wish to oppress us. Rather would they spare us heavier cares than we already have.

Seventh. I claim that there is no question of inferior intellect in this recognition of a difference in the fitness of men and women for certain work. The greatest problems of State are not so important as the bearing of children to form a right citizenship. In view of the fact that America's birth-rate is falling steadily and rapidly, we older women will fail in patriotism if we throw in our daughters' way the temptations that must come with political life. All our wisdom and energy should be turned on the home, to show its importance and to dignify the task of mothering men, the most delicate and the loftiest task which God has given to humanity.

Eighth. Because it is next to impossible to retrace steps of such import we ought to watch keenly this tendency to extend the suffrage. Troy fell after the entrance of the gift-bearing Greeks. If the ballot in the hands of women in the advanced countries should work for the larger good of those countries, then might we more safely try this plan. But there is no indication that woman suffrage is successful. New Zealand has defeated prohibition by 50,000. Norway's divorce rate has quintupled in a few years. The militant Suffragette proves herself unfit for the ballot. Colorado, with her years of woman suffrage, defeats prohibition, while West Virginia carries it by an enormous majority.

Ninth. I oppose a movement which weakens the modesty of woman. I protest against the spectacular methods by which the Suffragette calls attention to herself, and I assert that she fails lamentably in patriotism when she arrays sex against sex.

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Vol. III.

June, 1913

No. 2.

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

ACTIVITY IN NEW YORK

The New York State Association opened an annex in Fifth Avenue for four weeks before the Suffrage Parade on May 3d. The window was covered with dodgers and extracts from leaflets and there was a crowd, chiefly men, in front of it during the entire time, until eight in the evening, reading carefully the arguments presented against suffrage. Literature and buttons were distributed and sold in large quantities, and for the first time the Anti-Suffrage flag of rose and black with Anti-Suffrage in white letters across it was used. A large number of these were sold, and some were carried on automobiles during the parade.

Several hundred names of men and women were entered in the visitors' books and many new members added to the Association. The Association had a permit to have sandwich men carry signs during the parade and also a permit to sell literature and buttons. When an attempt was made to put these men on the streets the policemen interfered, declaring that they could not guarantee protection on account of the temper of the Suffragists. In a reply to a letter asking if this was by his order the Commissioner of Police said that he had not ordered this, but the police were allowed to judge for themselves what creates a disturbance. Apparently the Police Department were determined not to have any trouble such as occurred in Washington and this extreme step was taken as a safeguard to themselves.

Another annex was afterward taken in lower Broadway for ten days. Great interest was again shown in the window, in front of which there was a crowd of men. Five hundred and seventy-five names of men were secured as members of the new Men's Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, of which Mr. Everett P. Wheeler is the President. By special request several speakers gave talks to large groups of men in this office between twelve and one o'clock.

MISS BOARDMAN'S TESTIMONY

It is interesting to hear what an efficient woman of great experience in organized work has to say as to the desirability of the vote for a woman with a "Mission." Miss Mable Boardman, whose work as practical head of the Red Cross Society in America has given her a wide experience with public men and affairs, national and international, declares that neither her sex nor her want of a ballot has ever hindered her from obtaining a fair hearing, or accomplishing a definite purpose. The fact of being a non-voter, she says, has, on the contrary, been an advantage, placing her as it does in a non-partisan attitude, enabling her to deal readily with men of any party or opinion. Whereas, if she were affiliated by a vote to any faction, many public men would be obliged to oppose her on account of party lines.

MISQUOTING—A DISHONEST DEVICE

As an example of dishonest argument, one could hardly find a better sample than the following: At the Anti-Suffrage Hearing before the Senate Committee on April 19, Miss Molly Elliot Seawell argued that it would not be wise for the Federal Government to legislate on the question of a national amendment extending the suffrage to women, as it would undoubtedly be impossible to secure the majority of States to ratify such an amendment. She quoted California, Oregon and Washington as among the nineteen States who would unite in claiming and defending the right to regulate their own electorate. Miss Seawell said nothing whatever about the views of these States on woman suffrage, as that was not the question she was arguing. Here is what Miss Seawell said:

"It is, however, practically certain that at least nineteen States will resist any attempt to hand over to the Federal Government their right to regulate their own electorate, which is a right upon which these nineteen States consider their civilization is based.

"These States include the seceding States, which could of themselves, with two additional States, defeat any effort of the Federal Government to interfere with their electorate. To these States may be added five States with larger negro population, Maryland, West Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri and Kentucky. Combined with these are three Pacific Coast States—California, Oregon and Washington—that have Chinese and Japanese populations which do not vote."

The next week at the Suffrage Hearing, Mrs. Clara B. Colby undertook to "answer" Miss Seawell and she did it, as is frequently done, by attributing to Miss Seawell words she had never used and applying them to a point which was not under discussion.

Mrs. Colby declared that the only point made by the Anti-Suffragists at their hearing was that the passage of a resolution for woman suffrage by the Federal Congress would be resented by the States. She denied this and said it was strange that the Pacific Coast States have been mentioned as among those that would oppose a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage, when, as a matter of fact, these States have themselves granted the ballot to their women.

This is a fair sample of the method often used by Suffragists to obscure the issue in the absence of an opponent. It is a cheap and dishonest device to make listeners forget what was actually said. The arrant stupidity with which Mrs. Colby credits Miss Seawell has, of course, its amusing side to those who are behind the scenes. Miss Seawell, of course, did *not* say that California, Oregon and Washington would oppose an amendment they had already passed. She said they would retain the right as States to make their own amendments concerning the extension or restriction of their electorate, uninterfered with by the Federal Government—a fact which is in no way affected by their granting or refusing woman suffrage. Mrs. Colby must have known when she "answered" Miss Seawell that Miss Seawell had not made the statement attributed to her, as the text of what she did say was accurately reported.

PARADE FACTS VERSUS CLAIMS

The number of marchers in the Suffrage Parade in New York, May 1, 1912, was 8,894, not 20,000, as was reported throughout the country. The number that marched in the parade in Washington on March 3d was 4,138, not 10,000, as reported. The number in the parade in New York on May 3d was 9,613, including the bands (which numbered 545), not 35,000, as given out to the press. These figures are absolutely accurate, giving the largest number handed in by those counting on the comptometers.

Suffrage, like Crusades, a Movement of Misdirected Energy

BY CLARICE BROWNFIELD

THE great reproach which can be made to the Suffragist of America is greed. On the plea of sex equality, she desires to seize upon the "soft snaps," the lucrative and learned professions and politics, all of which have been considered hitherto as a man's work. But we have yet to see the Suffragist hastening to enlist her services as a miner, a puddler, a sewer-cleaner or a stoker.

Women in America are fortunate in having under the law equal rights without equal responsibilities. And here is a great point: The question of the wage scale has nothing to do with law, but it has much to do with economics. If after centuries of experience a woman's work is paid less on the average than a man's it is because it really is not worth so much as a man's. Moreover, a woman is harder to deal with in business than a man.

As a question of pure equity, I do not deny that much can be said on the "abstract right" of a woman to vote providing that such an abstract right is conceded to an adult male. But such is not the case. Every soldier in the United States army is practically disfranchised while in the service. In France men are disfranchised by law while they are in the army. We should remember that government is practical as well as theoretical, and a vote is a matter of expediency, not of "right." I maintain that no so-called reform which entails such vast expense and disorder as the woman suffrage movement should be countenanced when it has no more to back it than the loud-mouth cry, "I want it and so should have it." There remains the significant fact that the great mass of women of the United States do not want it.

I would be the last to think that the mission of woman is not to be the friend and intellectual companion of man, but I do deny that there is anything particularly modern in this idea. No one that reads history can pretend that such women as Blanche of Castile, Elizabeth of Hungary, Agnes of Dunbar or Vittoria Colonna were handicapped by their sex from receiving the homage due to their talents. What is more to the point, I contend that a woman, when she is following a profession, is advantaged by her sex, for a generous and chivalric spirit on the part of men often attributes greater relative merit to her work than to a man's. For instance, a poor class of male doctors may have the only clientele that their work deserve, but an equally inefficient female will always have a certain number of patients merely because she is a female.

The distinct flaw in the reasoning of a woman who demands a vote is found in her failure to comprehend that all legislation in the interest of man must necessarily also be in the interest of woman. We are all in the same boat. My civic interests as a female, married or single, in no way differ from those of my father, son, husband or brother. It is equally true that, if I am prosecuting a nefarious and illegal calling, my interests in no way differ from those of a male associate similarly engaged. Men and women, whether friends or foes, are forever associated in a common interest and a common destiny.

The second flaw in the logic of the Suffragist is the undue prominence which her attitude gives to the vote. A vote, soberly considered, has nothing sacred or inspired in it. It is only one way—and the most expensive way—of choosing public servants. The result of a majority vote is one of representative averages. We cannot expect to change or reform anything by adding to a certain mass of diverse opinion another mass of opinions equally diverse.

The great reproach to the suffrage movement is that it is not founded on reason or expediency or common sense. It is

in reality an affair of misplaced sentiment and parrot chatter. There always seems to exist in the mind of the suffragist some obscure connection between the right to vote and the expediency of wearing "pants." The other day Mrs. Catt exhorted her sisters to throw off, with the petticoat, the chains of French fashion.

"Why," she cries, "should free-born Americans follow weakly in the footsteps of the French? Why not rather imitate our Chinese sisters?"

But why, except for a picturesque lack of thought, should Mrs. Catt decide that the Chinese are better exponents of progress than the French, and that the petticoat is either a French fashion or a badge of servitude? As Mr. Chesterton has pointed out, the petticoat, if it is symbolical of anything, is the badge of dignity and authority. Since the beginning of history, whenever man has wished to pose as the personification of rule, as king, or priest, or judge, he has donned a petticoat. Bishops and free masons go further and add an apron.

The privilege of free speech, and even its abuse, have been accorded freely to females since antiquity. When a woman wishes to prove her equality with man she can do so more effectively perhaps by thinking a little more and talking a little less. And while thinking she might cast a passing thought on the old axiom that two different things cannot be equal. A woman cannot be like a man, although she may be equally pleasant or more unpleasant. And suffrage is not a question of morals. Rather, I believe it to be a serious question of manners. Shakespeare refers to an "ignorant despiser of good manners" as about the worst thing the world has produced. And, although I run the danger of contradiction on the part of the shrieking suffrage sister, I quote the witty Londoner's definition of her as "something which has ceased to behave like a lady and not learned to behave like a gentleman."

I deny that the suffrage movement is a forward movement, and I assert that it leads to nothing but the gratification of inordinate vanity and conceit. Moreover, nobody can make it arrive by calling it a forward movement. In history, as in science, reaction follows action. And one of the greatest and most far-reaching movements of pure sentiment, not to say hysteria, that ever started, failed absolutely to accomplish its object. I refer to the crusades. They lasted nearly three centuries. Men, women and children took part in them. They were backed by more capital and greater personalities and aided by more religious enthusiasm and fervid eloquence than the suffrage movement. But the crusades did not result in the triumph of Christian ideals. On the contrary, they brought about a revival of the arts, ideals and philosophy of Paganism.

If my Suffragist sister cheers herself with a dream of social justice for evils that a vote cannot cure, I comfort myself for the injustice of this world by the hope of an Ultimate Eternal Justice. And this is an idea which has already cheered the poverty and lightened the burdens of millions of toiling women. It has the sanction of the ages, and it is the crystallized wisdom of all people.

The English Suffragette who strikes a policeman or a prime minister is both a physical and moral coward, and I feel sure that the general public will never accept her poltroonery as a higher form of courage. However, I do not intend to dwell on this unpleasant side of the question in England. Happily, in America our sex has so far been contented to make fools, not knaves, of themselves. The hiker's worst enemy seems to be her own feet.

Suffrage a Stagnant Movement in Colorado

BY S. D. BROSIUS.

It is now more than twenty years since suffrage was extended to women in Colorado. The proposition was submitted to the voters for the second time in 1892 and the first exercise of the right was in the elections of the following year.

When the constitution of Colorado was adopted in 1875, under the enabling act, it contained an article authorizing the Legislature to submit the question of woman suffrage at any general election thereafter and provided that when so submitted the majority of those voting on the question should determine the political status of women for the future. In the election of 1892, which was a presidential election, 92,956 votes were polled for electors, but only 65,249 were cast on the subject of suffrage, and of these the proposition received only 35,798, while 29,451 were recorded against it. In figures of percentage, only 70 per cent. of those who voted were interested enough to express their wishes upon the ballot and less than 55 per cent. of those favored the amendment. Only 38½ per cent. of the electorate of the State felt favorable enough to the proposition to vote for it. Thus it is seen that although the change came as the result of a strenuous campaign, much exertion and extended agitation, it was not popular. More than 61 per cent. of the male voters remained unconvinced of the wisdom, policy or necessity of the change. The figures speak for themselves and are not susceptible of misinterpretation.

Figures equally decisive and indicative of the present opinion of the State on the subject do not exist and may never be obtained, though under the operation of the rule of the initiative which now obtains in Colorado, it is possible to demand and to secure a resubmission of the question. It is not improbable that it will some day be done. Pending its resubmission, the question of its popularity and success is one for individual determination, but the careful and candid observer need not greatly err.

That as a reform it has been disappointing and has therefore lost a measure of such popularity as it at first possessed may be inferred from the fact that none or few indeed of those who opposed it in the first instance have ever announced a change of sentiment, while numbers of intelligent and discriminating women have made public their disgust and disappointment and consequent change of belief. This is an indication not to be disregarded.

The rapid decline of that little interest with which women at first regarded their newly acquired rights and responsibilities is another significant fact, for it is, of course, true that by many much was expected from the new order of things, while an ambitious few looked for personal aggrandizement. Perhaps there has been but little diminution in the effort of women, especially young women, to secure appointive offices, but there has been a marked, even a phenomenal decline, in attendance at political conventions, while their campaign work is now almost wholly confined to paid services.

Not as many women now seek nomination and election to responsible positions as in the years immediately following the change, and as political conventions are now, in Colorado, almost a thing of the past, and as the voter in the privacy of an election booth is not as gallant as the delegate in the open convention, woman's appearance on the ballot as a candidate will grow less and less frequent.

In each of the first and second legislatures after the advent of woman suffrage, there were three women members. There were two in the third and one each in the fourth and fifth and none in the sixth and seventh. One was elected to the eighth, while four were elected to the ninth. These figures manifest

a stagnant, if not in fact a declining, interest in political affairs. Out of the eighteen women elected to the legislature in twenty years only one was re-elected and she but once. Either they retired in disgust from the political arena or their constituents retired them. Only one had reached the State senate and not over two impressed their personality on the legislative body. The others retired to their homes and were never heard of more. It might be added that all but four of these ladies were elected from the city and county of Denver, celebrated as a seething chaldron of political agitation and revolution. There has been the same lack of interest and even greater non-participation in political affairs throughout the State in local matters. It appears evident from these facts that the women of Colorado have found themselves in a field of action for which they have little or no taste or ambition. Had women generally and earnestly desired suffrage and an equal participation in political affairs, there was the opportunity in Colorado to elect from twenty-five to forty members of the legislature and a proportionate number to the State and county offices, but statistics will show that she holds less than 2 per cent. of the elective offices and it may be said that her influence in shaping governmental and economic affairs is not in greater ratio.

The statement is justified by many facts that the right to vote was thrust on the women of Colorado. True, by a few it was received hopefully and joyfully, but by large numbers of the eminently intelligent and respectable it was accepted reluctantly and by the mass with indifference. Since the corresponding duty to vote comes but once a year and has been made easy by the visiting registrar and by the carriages and automobiles of the campaign committees, perhaps 75 per cent. of the women have been regularly induced to register and to vote, but as the privilege of holding office is not urged or even conceded, as it is secured only by persistent and sometimes cunning effort, she has fallen out of the race and is now only occasionally seen in an elective public office.

Election figures demonstrate that women as candidates are not popular. They seldom run with their tickets unless they are pitted against other women on the opposing ticket. Their majorities on successful tickets are smaller than their male associates and their adverse majorities on unsuccessful ones are greater, a stinging fact not calculated to invite women into the political arena.

Woman's activity in originating and her influence in shaping legislation have been negligible. More than two years elapsed between the election which invested her with the political rights of men and the convening of the legislature in which she would have the opportunity to right her own wrongs and reform the corrupted political machinery of the State; more than two years in which to take counsel together and to point out where amendment, alteration and reformation were needed, yet when the legislature actually met nothing along these lines had been done. The newly enfranchised women had nothing to suggest. Their representatives had no message to deliver, no mission to perform. They saw no institution to reform, no vices to attack, no new subject upon which to legislate. One bill of six lines, slightly amending an existing law, was all the women of Colorado had to offer. By this six-line amendment young women between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years were put in the same class with girls under sixteen and given the same legal protection against the wiles and violence of the stronger sex. This bill was introduced by a woman. It was received with favor; passed without debate and received unanimous assent. In the next legislature, after four years of suffrage, the women had still found nothing to alter or amend and the session passed without a suggestion from them. Since, in suffrage circles, much credit is claimed by the women for the enactment of this six-line law above mentioned, it should be stated that four years before, in man-governed Idaho, a law identical with it had been enacted.

Woman suffrage found upon the statute books of Colorado a man-made law, well enforced, highly penalizing the principals and accessories in a prize fight. Under woman suffrage this most brutal and shameful of all criminal sports is legalized and bloody "bouts," sometimes fatal, are now of nightly occurrence. Boys are not excluded and women in considerable numbers frequently attend. Moving pictures exhibiting the naked gladiators in their conflicts may be seen at all the nickel shows where young boys and girls may, and do, get early impressions, and all this without protest from the woman legislator.

The Prohibition Party has never polled as large a vote since woman suffrage came as it did before. The party has practically ceased to exist. Ten years before woman suffrage, a Prohibition candidate for governor received 4 per cent. of the total vote. Twelve years afterward no Prohibition candidate was in the field and none in the meantime had polled an equal percentage of the votes. Within a few years a dozen or more

man-governed States have voted "dry." In Colorado at the recent election Prohibition was overwhelmingly defeated.

These facts are recalled and recited, not for the purpose of disparaging the good women of Colorado, but for the purpose of illustrating what, if any, influence woman suffrage has had on the moral progress and uplift of the State.

It is only simple justice to the women of Colorado to say that they are the equals, in all that is admirable in the female sex, of the women of other States—east, west, north or south—and it is from no lack of womanly qualities, but rather from the possession of them, that her influence has not been greater and her interest a declining one. Whether her civic zeal will in the next twenty years receive new inspiration and become more potent in right directions is, of course, matter of conjecture, but in view of the agitation now existing in so many localities, and when the demand for "votes for women" is so insistent, it is a duty to rub off the varnish and to exhibit Colorado in its true light.

"IF THEY WANT IT"

There are always a large number of easy-going people in the world who stand ready to make almost any concession because someone demands it. Rather than have contention, friction, or even discussion, they are willing to give away their rights or to sacrifice their principles, if they can be said to have any, their general attitude being that there is nothing in the world worth fighting or making a fuss about. We see this disposition manifested greatly to their detriment in the training, or rather lack of training, of children. Whatever the little dears cry for, no matter how much it may inconvenience others or harm themselves, they must have because they want it. Such an attitude is doubtless the result of temperament, rather than of any fixed ideas of how the various problems that confront us should be dealt with, and it is adopted frequently in regard to matters of importance. At the outbreak of the Civil War there were many in the North who said of the seceding States, "If they want to go let them; wayward sisters depart in peace." Had this advice been followed there would have been no United States to-day. It was because there were those who refused to grant what was asked merely because of the asking, even when it became a demand at the cannon's mouth, and considered carefully what the consequences would be, and decided that it was their duty to resist that this Government was preserved.

There is before the country now a proposed change that goes as certainly to the foundation of our institutions and affects the social order even more profoundly than did secession. That is female suffrage, and there are a large number of men who say, "If the women want it I am in favor of letting them have it."

This is an extremely shallow and inadequate view to take of so far-reaching and disruptive a proposal. Such questions should be dealt with not on the basis of what a number of men or women want or think they want, but with regard to what is wise and best for the community as a whole.

Everyone before committing themselves to the suffrage cause ought to carefully and candidly consider the possible results of abandoning all the theories upon which our social structure has rested hitherto in its relation to the sexes. And it is to be said in the first place that there is no question of justice involved as is so loudly asserted. It never has been claimed till now that suffrage is a natural right or that it was not competent and proper for society to bestow or withhold it for such reasons and with such limitations as to it may seem expedient. If it were a natural right no child could be debarred from exercising it as

soon as it was able to go to the polls. Then it must be remembered that hitherto the social and political unit has been supposed to be the family and not the individual, that the man was by nature adapted to be its protector and bread-winner and the woman its domestic guardian, all of whose care and thought and energy are required to carry forward the race and to meet the duties and requirements incidental to so exacting and fundamental a task. To her is committed the bearing, nurture and training of the children on which more than anything else our future depends. There can be no question of superiority or inferiority as between the two. They complement each other and make up one whole, into which it would be disastrous to inject the idea, as is being attempted, of distrust and antagonistic classes.

Are the women who are seeking the suffrage and to enter public life, which must necessarily follow, with all the wrangling and bitterness of politics and with the certainty of developing a rivalry which is bound to result in a man's and woman's party, are these women performing their unmistakable duties so well that they must needs force their way into the sphere hitherto reserved for men and take up their tasks? Is there nothing to be desired in making the home a better, happier place, in improving the standards of character and education and physical well-being for children, in learning domestic economy and in directing all the numerous social and charitable agencies for the uplift of mankind for which women are so peculiarly fitted? There is a great work to be performed in bringing about a better adjustment of domestic service. From its ranks, far more than any other, the social evil is recruited. Should women with so plain a duty neglected turn to work for which it is at least questionable whether they are fitted?

In government calm reason is needed above all things. They are ruled by emotion and sentiment, and the Suffragists of England who belong to the educated classes have demonstrated by their hysterical, criminal, crazy actions in seeking the ballot that they are unfit to exercise it. If women were in legislatures what reason is there to suppose they would not restore to the same sort of tactics to force through measures which they had set their hearts on? It is unworthy of any intelligent man to consent to female suffrage solely because some women want and clamor for it. Let him before making up his mind take up and carefully think over the weighty considerations involved and then decide.

A. H.

Women Without Ballot Do Greater Work

BY LILIAN BAYARD TAYLOR KILIANI

The results achieved by women in this country in the last half century, since their interest in doing their share of the world's work was quickened and the opportunities of acquiring a college education gave them the means of obtaining the knowledge necessary to cope with the larger problems confronting them in the public service—these results, little short of marvelous, when we consider the brief period during which they have been accomplished—offer the clearest possible illustration of the things which public-spirited women can do without going to the polls or becoming involved in party politics, the inevitable sequel to the possession of the electoral franchise. The women of America, without a vote among them, abolished slavery; they secured to themselves and their daughters and descendants all the advantages of education along the broadest lines, which culminated when almost every college opened its door to young women on the same terms on which it admits and instructs young men. The women of America, without a vote among them, have entered or can enter, with no restriction or fear of arousing adverse criticism, every profession, trade or occupation open to men, except a few from which they are barred not by the decree of man, but by their own physical limitations. The women teachers of New York City, without a vote among them, won their fight for equal pay with the male teachers. The burden of proof—not of assertion, but of proof—lies with the Suffragists to show why women cannot continue in the future what they have accomplished in the past, and what more they can achieve with the ballot than they have been able to bring to pass without it.

Hampton's Magazine for August, 1909, contained an article by Mrs. Rheta Childe Dorr, under the caption "What 8,000,000 Women Want," giving a detailed account of the work accomplished by the federated women's clubs in twenty-five years all over the United States in improving the industrial conditions of women and children, pure food, public health, education, civic problems, legislation, etc., etc. The writer may or may not have proved that 8,000,000 women want the vote, she certainly succeeded in demonstrating beyond a doubt that 800,000 women (the figures are hers) of the General Federation of Women's Clubs do not need the vote in order to carry out any job of municipal housekeeping that they make up their minds to undertake. There is no reason to assume that this splendid public service on the part of the women of the nation, in which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists are working shoulder to shoulder for civic betterment, will not continue to be given, and the achievements of the last twenty-five years will probably be more than duplicated in the next quarter century, as an increasingly larger proportion of women become competent to participate in such work.

People who propose a revolutionary change in government, such as the projection of women into the body politic, hitherto exclusively male, should first prove not only that women cannot serve the public weal without the ballot, but also that they have done more conspicuous civic work where they exercise suffrage than where they do not. While suffrage orators invariably substitute assertion for proof, the latter could readily be furnished, if it were forthcoming, in the States where women have voted about the same length of time as that during which the woman's club movement has taken active part in civic work.

When we compare these wonderful achievements of the women's clubs throughout the country, effected entirely without the ballot, with the results in the four original woman suffrage States, what do we see? "In the matter of property rights," says Dr. Helen L. Sumner in her book "Equal Suffrage," pub-

lished several years ago by a suffrage society of this city, "Colorado, even before the suffrage amendment, had placed women on substantially the same footing as men." "Taking public employment as a whole, women receive considerably lower remuneration than men." "The difference in the salaries of men and women teachers in Colorado, instead of being unusually small, is unusually large." "Considering the slight influence which equal suffrage can be clearly demonstrated to have exerted over the public employment of women, it should be surprising if their enfranchisement could be shown to have had any marked effect on their employment in private industry. As one woman said, in answer to the question in regard to the effect of equal suffrage on the wages and conditions of employment of women, 'It is the same old story of demand and supply in the commercial world.'" Legislation for women and children has in almost every case lagged several years behind similar legislation in male suffrage States. For example, the Equal Guardianship Law, advocated by a woman's society and enacted in New York in 1893, was passed in Colorado two years later; the Juvenile Court of Chicago was in existence two years before it was established in Denver. Utah and Idaho, and Wyoming, with over forty years of female suffrage to its credit, are even more backward than Colorado in laws for the safeguarding of wage-earning women and the prevention of child labor.

The conclusion is inevitable that women as voters have not even accomplished as much for the public good as women have achieved without votes in other States of the Union. And when we inquire into the reason for these conditions, which disprove the Suffragists' assertions of the efficacy of the ballot, Dr. Sumner gives the explanation in the following paragraph:

"The most superficial consideration of the evidence . . . reveals the heavy handicap placed upon women's influence by the caucus and convention system. Under the existing machine methods in politics, women, though nominally admitted, are not yet truly enfranchised so far as the nomination of candidates is concerned. Practically their only influence on the selection of party candidates is due to their power to scratch the ticket at the ensuing election. As a result their influence, even in elections, is only negative—the empty option of choosing between two candidates often equally obnoxious or inefficient, nominated by the bosses of two 'machines.'"

Or, in other words, as the Rev. Anna Shaw said the other day, in answer to a question from the floor, asking why the good women of Colorado were not able to change the bad laws made by the men, "Because all that the women can do is to vote!" No one ever stated more concisely and definitely the inherent fallacy of female suffrage—the inefficiency of the ballot in woman's hands.

AN "UTTERLY UNINTERESTING CAUSE"

A very interesting point in Rheta Childe Dorr's recent letter to the *New York Times* is the following: "Without anti-suffrage the suffrage cause would be, to the multitude, utterly uninteresting. Few people would be curious enough to listen to its advocates. Fewer still would be willing to work and sacrifice for it." And yet we are asked to believe that suffrage is a pressing, vital movement, necessary to relieve the crushing, unendurable, grinding injustice to women. A cause "utterly uninteresting to the multitude" is scarcely what the Suffragists would have us believe, and these admissions by Suffragists, daily more frequent, are very enlightening as to its real importance. Verily, "whom the Gods would destroy they first make blind."

J. T. W.

Inconsistencies and Trivialities of Suffrage

It would be interesting and enlightening to have a complete list of the reforms advocated by Suffragists. Many of them, of course, are not embodied in their platform; still they all possess an interest as indicative to the deep thought given to social problems by these lantern-bearers of progress. Here are a few:

Mrs. Harvey Wiley advocates wages for wives, without, however, suggesting a schedule.

Mrs. Christian Hemmick hopes for the abolition of "kisses" and "skirts" and wishes to see members of both sexes dressed alike in Turkish trousers. This, we presume, is with an idea of eliminating sex in politics. She also advocates personal health certificates before marriage, though why she thinks marriage will persist after sex is eliminated she does not make clear.

The Denver Suffragists in congress assembled advocate drinks for women and open saloons on the same terms as for men. A large number of Suffragists, however, would leave the fold tomorrow did they not earnestly believe that suffrage meant prohibition.

Jane Addams is certain that suffrage will bring about protection to women and children in industry. The Rev. Olympia Brown and many other Suffragists support the idea, however, that all protection to women in industry is an interference with individual liberty.

Several prominent Suffragists wished to organize an association in which members would pledge themselves not to marry till they had the vote. Boston spinsters, however, are obsessed with the idea that suffrage means that women may propose without delay.

Quite a considerable number of Suffragists hold that women's votes will purify politics, close saloons and uplift men. Mrs. Horton Pope and Mrs. Bryant Turner of Denver, however, say that is all quite "beside the question" and Inez Milholland and Meta Sinclair go farther still and support the idea of an equally promiscuous moral standard for men and women.

Mary Johnston believes that "taxation without representation is tyranny." Mrs. Ida Husted Harper says that idea is quite exploded and the argument is now never used by an up-to-date Suffragist.

Numerous Suffragists affirm that votes will raise wages. Quite as many now admit that they can do nothing of the kind.

Selma Lagerlof believes that the vote will strengthen home life and remodel the State on the basis of the ideal home. Suffragists, however, are almost universally in favor of pure individualism and easy divorce.

Olive Schreiner declares women's votes will abolish war, and yet Mrs. Pankhurst says there will be war to the knife if women do not immediately get all they want.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman is the champion of social motherhood and State-supported children. Ellen Key refutes this idea with the doctrine of a more intense personal relation between mothers and children.

Some Suffragists insist that voting is a higher call to a truer service, but English Suffragettes as a body defend the right to destroy property and break the law and to be at the same time exempt from punishment.

Many Suffragists contend that women are without need of any physical protection and are more respected than ever before by men. Others demand extra police protection in broad daylight on the principal streets and assert that they are insulted, jeered at, even roughly handled by these same men.

Now it would be impossible to answer or to conciliate all these contradictory statements or theories of what is best for the world, but on thinking it over two thoughts suggest themselves: One is how far one woman's vote is apt to cancel another's, and the next is that most of these things have nothing whatever to do with suffrage.

Our own experience of legislative matters is that when women know what they want they generally get it—that is, if they are agreed and go on wanting the same thing several consecutive months or years. If Suffragists could give some intelligible idea of what they wanted brought about it would probably be done before they had time to vote, as many reforms have proved.

But what can legislators do but laugh when they hear that women want so many absurd, contradictory and irrelevant things as are here mentioned and are asked to listen to forty different varieties of testimony, even on questions of simple concrete fact. They find that even facts are twisted so as to get the best political light upon them—the one most likely to forward the interest of "the cause." One Suffragist says men were courtly and chivalrous; the next gets up a case of cruel and inhuman treatment. Everything varies according to what the individual believes will best serve "the cause."

Now the second thought which occurred was that most of the things the Suffragists were declaiming about had no more to do with votes than the Underwood Tariff Bill has to do with a school girl's journal. Most of these reforms can be easily achieved if they have sufficient courage and faith to imitate them in person. If Mrs. Harvey Wiley and those who agree with her prefer the status of servant to that of wife they have only to go before a notary and sign away their right to maintenance and dower. The present man-made law offers no obstacle whatever to this course.

If Mrs. Hemmick and her followers prefer the costume of the harem, what is to prevent their adopting it? They are even at liberty to decline marriage without a health certificate.

Colorado Suffragists have the vote and so should be easily able to regulate saloons and morals to suit themselves.

Jane Addams and Olympia Brown are paired right down the line on the subject of protection and liberty, and the vote given to both would help neither.

Boston spinsters, or any others, may propose if they like—the law does not prohibit it.

The Suffragists who wish to elevate society are negated by those who are willing to drag it down, or who disclaim all responsibility for social standards.

"Votes for women" does not guarantee the abolition of war, for women of militant tendencies are all in its favor wherever their own sentiments or interest are at stake.

If Mrs. Gilman prefers professional caretakers to maternal love she has only to remember that there are at least as many foundling asylums now as in the time of Rousseau. The law does still exact something of parents, however, and here is a palpable grievance, if regarded as such.

Women who wish to be freed from masculine protection can generally accomplish that desideratum, but should not then demand a double quantity by applying to Congress.

None of these matters have anything whatever to do with the vote and should, properly speaking, be kept outside the argument. The law, as at present constructed, even permits American women to cross on whatever line of steamers they prefer, and Mrs. Belmont is quite free to shop in Paris without producing international complications, nor necessitating a change in the constitution of either England or America. Why waste our time and yours on such silly trivialities, my suffrage sisters?

SAVING THE SLAVE AND IGNORING THE SLAVER

A woman who has done splendid "anti-cruelty" work among the cab-horses of Paris and has been twice decorated by the French Government says that the secret of her success has always been that she never tried to help the poor horse without first trying to help the man. She said: "My work is hindered and rendered null at every turn by well-meaning women who charge coachmen with cruelty and neglect without first determining whether they themselves may not be destitute and in trouble. Many a harassed man with a sick child or wife overworks his horse and even beats him. Help the man if you want to help the horse. I rarely have to have a man arrested. I know every cabman and my apartment is a dispensary for horse and man—yes, and for wife and child too." The question of white slavery, of drunkenness, of the oppression of women in industry, all these questions are questions not of woman alone, but of man and woman. You cannot save the slave and ignore the slaver. His education, too, is at fault, and if he is the stronger it is through him no doubt that the remedy will be found. At the base of these troubles lies wrong education, with which the assumption of the perfect capacity of a young girl to take care of herself (as taught by Miss Millholland) doubtless has much to do. A young girl should undoubtedly know how to take care of herself, but not through crude knowingness so much as through right ideals, and the same applies to a boy. Mothers are entirely responsible for these ideals in both boys and girls, which, of course, will be essentially different. A girl should be free to believe herself safe and protected simply because she knows and realizes the ideals of the boys among whom she lives. This does not endanger her. On the contrary, it gives her a standard and a means of comparison between the false and the true. It is the unfortunate girl who believes all men "bad" who is most apt to go astray through accepting a low standard in men. So in order to help the girl we must help the boy and the man. There is no other way.

It would be safe to say that the great majority of mothers are opposed to suffrage and that the majority of independent single women are for it. Add to this the young girls who are not old enough to think or to vote and you have the bulk of the suffrage strength. There are few mothers who would sacrifice their daughters as Mrs. Pankhurst has done. Olive Schreiner says women's votes would stop war because "men's bodies are our work" and we would therefore never sacrifice

them. How about women's bodies? Are the Suffragettes ready to sacrifice them? Miss Mary Johnston has proclaimed that she would "give her body to be burned for suffrage." One may give one's own body, but one ought to hesitate to mislead and sacrifice others—especially younger women for whom one is in a measure responsible. And then as a notorious wit remarked, "A thing is not necessarily true because one dies for it." A good many have died on

both sides in every war. Dying for a thing certainly proves one's sincerity, but it does not prove one's intelligence in all cases. So far, however, no one has risked dying for suffrage, but certainly all normal mothers would rather see their sons go to war in defense of their country than to see their daughters go to Holloway jail and forced feeding, or have them "hiking" from New York to Washington for the sake of advertising a political party.

THE FEMALE POLITICIAN IS MORE DEADLY THAN THE MALE

(With due credit to Kipling.)

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

When the people flee in panic from the frenzied woman's shout,
As she skulks through dismal alleys on her devastating bout,
We discern from wreck and ruin spread along her ruthless trail
That the female politician is more vicious than the male.

There is havoc and confusion where the deadly bomb is hurled,
Thus the woman prone to arson claims to purify the world.
Sin but brings its own destruction, error never won a fight,
Grievous wrongs, however many, never serve to make a right.

In the councils of our country where the women sit in state
There is naught to reassure us that the evils will abate,
For the hand that rocks the cradle offers willing votes for sale,
And the female politician stoops to grafting—like the male.

Woman's heart is ever restless, ever changeful, ill at ease,
And the thing she has she wants not—she has captured by degrees

All save one of man's vocations—now she camps upon his trail,
Fighting for the last concession which is granted to the male.

She who faces death by torture for each life beneath her breast
Has no business in the rabble. Cruel censure, idle jest,
These be purely male diversions—but for her the regal place
Where she wields a royal scepter as the mother of the race.

There's a wall of Nature's building she can never hew away;
There are great eternal forces that her hand can never stay.
She must bow in recognition of these laws which never fail
If the female of the species would be greater than the male.

Man, "a bear in most relations," is as wax in woman's hand,
Hers to mold to vice or virtue, would she only understand
What her mission, what her powers; did she live from day to day
Staunchly doing woman's duty in a woman's mighty way.

And man knows within his conscience that the woman that God
gave him
Should not make of him a weakling nor endeavor to enslave him;
And he knows the only method by which justice can prevail
Is a separate dominion for the female and the male.

Thus it comes that men and statesmen, when they gather to confer,

Do not deem it wise or prudent to reserve a place for her.
At the dawning of creation woman's heart and woman's hands
Had their duties preassigned them by a God that understands.

The Woman and the Hatchet

A FIRST LESSON IN LOGIC

The militant Suffragette took her hatchet in hand to inform the Government that she was alive and well and wanted her rights delivered to her by the next ballot time.

"I am, cool, calm, collected, sane and very, very determined," she said, for not being an actress in a modern play, but a person in real life, it was permissible for her to explain matters to herself by means of a soliloquy.

Whereupon she wandered out in search of adventure, and after a while she came across a large, heavy packing case standing outside a shop in a quiet street.

"Good," said the Suffragette. "I shall register my protest here against government by the brutal if necessary male."

She aimed several blows at the packing case, and since the box was large and covered considerable area, at last the hatchet bit into the wood. It bit so deeply that the Suffragette was unable to extricate her weapon and she proceeded to create a disturbance, casting much obloquy on the packing case for its obstinacy. A man, attracted by the commotion, walked out of the shop and watched the Suffragette silently. Finally he spoke:

"Are you in any trouble, madam?" he asked, for being only an average man he always was willing to help women out of difficulties.

"Can't you see, that I am in trouble?" responded the Suffragette querulously, as she tugged vainly at the handle of her hatchet. "Don't ask foolish questions and distract me from being cool, calm, collected, sane and very, very determined. I have driven my hatchet into this packing case of yours and it won't come out."

"Why should you seek to damage my property?" asked the man.

"I want to vote," replied the Suffragette.

"Do you know my own attitude on the franchise question?" asked the man.

"I neither know nor care," answered the Suffragette. "That has nothing to do with the question at issue. We must do something sensational to attract attention to our demands. The effect is the same whether we attack your property or someone else's."

"Why don't you destroy your own property, then?" asked the man.

"That is just like a man," replied the Suffragette scornfully. "When a man feels he has got to emphasize his requirements he throws one of his own plates on the floor, or slams a book on the table, or knocks over a chair. We Suffragettes are not so foolish. When we want to make known our determination and force of

character we leave our own plates and books and chairs alone and hunt for someone else's. If you had the intelligence of a turtle you would see that this proves we are better grounded in economics than men are, and so would make better governors of the State."

"Do you mean you would legislate against others and in favor of yourselves?" asked the man.

"Nothing of the kind," snapped the Suffragette, pulling again at the handle of her hatchet. "We would conserve our resources and not dissipate them promiscuously."

"I don't quite understand," said the man, "but perhaps you will permit me to help you."

He grasped the handle of the hatchet and separating the Suffragette's weapon from the captive wedge restored it to her. The Suffragette at once swung the hatchet back into the packing case, where it stuck fast.

"Oh, dear!" she cried, tugging fruitlessly. "It's done it again. It won't come out."

"Let it remain there this time," said the man.

"No, no. Help me get it out," pleaded the Suffragette. "I must damage some more property before I quit work for the day."

"But that would make me an accessory before the fact to your criminal intentions," said the man.

"Then you will have an opportunity to be a hero by going to jail and starving yourself until they forcibly feed you," said the Suffragette enthusiastically.

"I don't care to change my sex, thank you," said the man.

"Ah!" exclaimed the Suffragette. "At last you admit it."

"Admit what?" queried the man, much puzzled.

"Admit that you do not care to change your sex," answered the Suffragette.

"Of course I don't," reiterated the man.

"That is the crux of the matter. That is the real injustice of the world. That is the horror of life," shrieked the Suffragette.

"Madam, madam, do not excite yourself," said the man soothingly. "Perhaps things will come out right after all. I expect to see you in triumphant possession of the vote before very long."

"It isn't the vote. It isn't the vote," shouted the Suffragette. "It's the injustice of nature against woman. Why should a woman have to be a woman all her life?

That is the crowning tyranny of the cosmos. Why should you be allowed to continue masculine until you die and we be forced to exist as feminine, without anybody having consulted us about our wishes in the matter?"

"But you can't change that," said the man.

"Can't we?" screamed the Suffragette. "We intend to change it. We intend to show nature and the cosmos that both together cannot dictate much longer to us women. We shall have our rights. We shall do what we wish."

"But—" protested the man.

"You call yourself a man?" cried the Suffragette. "Why do you stand there and refuse to release this hatchet for me?"

"If you can't do that for yourself," said the man, "how are you going to fight nature herself?"

At these words the Suffragette became so violent that the man called to several passersby and they held the screaming woman until the arrival of the ambulance. In the psychopathic ward the doctor said she was the first to arrive, but they had been expecting her and more like her for a considerable time.—(N. Y. Sun, May 8, 1913.)

THE MARRIED COUPLE AND HERCULES

A woman who could not find the strength to get her house in order and was despondent and inclined to discontent was visited by her neighbor, a Suffragist. "What you need is the vote," said she. "Where women can vote their labor is lightened and they live at their ease. Look at your husband, does he waste his time with dirty pots and pans and wash-tubs? Men do just as they like and take the best of everything."

The woman, much impressed by all this tirade, dropped her work and sallied forth to find her husband and demand a vote. She met him on his way back from town where he had been to sell the produce of his farm, but the wheels of his cart were stuck fast in clay and he was calling on Hercules to help him. His wife, after rating him sorely for her own woes, began to abuse him for his lack of energy, and said, "For goodness sake, stop calling on Hercules and clap your shoulder to the wheel."

The husbandman, stimulated by his wife's counsel, did as she said and up came the wheel. "Now," said he to her, "go practice what you preach. Stop demanding the ballot and clap your shoulder to your housework and be thankful that I have in my wallet the money to pay for it."

MORAL—Neither sex is independent of the other, but their work is different.

ANALYSIS REVEALS FLAWS IN SUFFRAGE ARGUMENTS

A close analysis of the arguments in favor of woman suffrage will show that they rest on the negation of the characteristic difference of the sexes. Let us disregard for the moment the truth or falsity of the premises assumed by the Suffragists for giving the ballot to women, and look at them from another point of view. The right to vote, the justice of the franchise for men and not for women, democracy, taxation without representation, the consent of the governed, etc., etc., all these arguments are brought forward by the Suffragists as if there were no very great difference between men and women, no fundamental divergence in their characteristics, capabilities and functions, and are urged on the ground that whatever it is right for men to do must of necessity be the right thing for women to do. While this reasoning would be convincing, if women were merely a kind of female men—a class of men, for instance, distinguished by wearing petticoats, or by having long hair and no beards—it is utterly false in view of the fact that women are sexually distinct and different from men, not only in body, but also in mind, in habits of thought and character. Considering woman as a sex and not as a class, it is evident that many things are right for men to do which are not right or wise or possible for women to do. *Ergo*, since the Suffragist is firmly convinced of the truth of her arguments, which are nullified as soon as we apply the facts of sex specialization to the discussion, the conclusion is inevitable that she denies, or at least ignores, the existence of the latter. And there is no difficulty whatever in finding proofs of this negation of sex; through all the suffrage writings the same burden runs: "Men do thus and so, then why shall women not do the same?"

A further illustration is furnished, for instance, by a phrase that is current in suffrage literature: "There is no sex in mind." Biologists have described the differences between the minds of men and women as one of the secondary characteristics of sex, and philosophers have written learned volumes on the habits of thought and mental attributes which distinguish the masculine from the feminine intellect. "No sex in mind!" And yet, as Herbert Spencer says, in *Justice*, "the mental and emotional differences between the sexes" led him, in the fulness of his years, to reconsider and reverse every argument he had formerly upheld for woman suffrage.

Another phrase of the same general tenor is the assertion that when women

have the vote they will "eliminate" sex from politics. They might just as well claim to "eliminate" death—one would be quite as humanly possible as the other! While this promise of theirs amounts to a tacit confession that sex is a stumbling-block to the exercise of the suffrage, the serious proposal to "eliminate" it shows a disregard of the essential reality of its existence.

Suffrage writers and speakers continually use the terms "equal" suffrage, political "equality," forgetting that one of the primal laws of nature is inequality. The habit of thought which prompts these expressions is again the consistent denial, or at least ignoring, of sex as a factor. Dissimilarity is an all-pervading attribute of nature. No star is like a sister star. No mountain, valley, lake or plain is a replica of another mountain, valley, lake or plain. No plant, animal or living thing is a duplicate of another of the same species. No man, woman or child is exactly like another individual, even in the same family. And where such universal dissimilarity exists in nature, there can never be equality. "That all men are born free and equal" is strictly true of civic rights, but there the predicated equality ends. Men and women are equally citizens; they are equal before the law in most of the States of the Union, and the tendency of the legislation all over the country is to give them absolute legal equality, with a strong predilection in favor of the woman. But beyond this limited domain, of purely human agency, equality even between man and man does not exist—how much less between man and woman, who are differentiated by nature in all their characteristics and functions, a specialization increased and emphasized by evolution during countless ages of civilization. To assert other than legal equality is to deny the distinctions of sex.

The opponent of suffrage who holds that the reality of sex is an integral factor of the discussion, not to be ignored, denied or "eliminated," considers that the most serious objection to placing the ballot in women's hands (with the consequent political activity and partisanship) lies in the grave danger to women themselves. Already their entry into industrial competition with men and the high pressure of conditions of life in the great cities is filling the doctors' offices and sanitariums of the land with nervous wrecks, and the birth-rate has decreased to an alarming degree, while the percentage of criminals and defective and delinquent children is continually growing larger. This condition is a calamity in itself and heavy with forebodings of disaster to the nation. The woman's burden is already more than she can bear; she is woefully overlaid with her duties as wife and mother, and breadwinner as well; she staggers often under her load of care and often succumbs. The

Suffragists are seeking to add to the woman's burden, and it may well be that the franchise will represent the metaphorical "last straw that broke the camel's back!" The projection of women into the political field would certainly add another source of excitement and nerve tension for the feminine half of the people, and constitute a further drain upon their vital energies. It is beside the point for Suffragists to say that *men* endure this political excitement without injury to their nerves, for this rejoinder merely brings us back to our starting-point, viz.: the reality of sex differences, and it emphasizes the fact that Suffragists ignore it. And this is a very dangerous tendency.

Their demands, based upon their negation of the inherent specializations of sex, and carried to their ultimate logical conclusions, constitute a grave menace to our ideals of womanhood and to the welfare of the nation. I am not to be misunderstood in saying this. I do *not* claim that the mere act of casting a ballot at an election will have any dangerous results. But I do say that after the ballot—the first step in the Suffragists' program—shall have been won their other dogmas will be put into effect. Wages for wives, pensions for mothers and various experiments in marriage (all advocated by Suffragists) will follow in the train of the ballot, and these would inevitably tend to the loosening of the bonds of wedlock and to the disruption of the family, and thus disaster would come to women and to the nation.

WISCONSIN SUFFRAGE BILL VETOED

After passing both houses of the legislature, the Woman's Suffrage Bill was vetoed by Governor McGovern of Wisconsin, May 27th. The Governor objects to the bill on the ground that suffrage having been defeated by a majority of 92,000 in Wisconsin last November, another referendum in 1914 would result only in a more emphatic rejection. He also argues that affirmative action on suffrage, if a mistake, can never be corrected, while unfavorable action may be corrected at any time.

"Wisconsin stands for popular rule," says the Governor's message. "But if the referendum is a good thing, manifestly the results of a popular vote should be properly respected. Such respect will not be shown if, almost as soon as the outcome of last year's vote upon this subject has been announced, exactly the same proposal is immediately resubmitted without a single new argument to support it. Such action by the legislature can have but one tendency—that of speedily bringing the principle of the referendum into disrepute."

DERAILED FORCES

BY MARGARET A. CLEAVES, M. D.

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Not long since the Twentieth Century Limited was hurled over an embankment into the river below. The cause, a broken rail. Back of the actual break was a weakened strain in the atomic structure of the iron itself. Derailed forces work havoc; they are always pitiful and to be dreaded.

The women who recently indulged in a window smashing crusade in London, those who have gone on hunger strikes, and those who with untimely mouthings stalk to and fro upon the earth, are the saddest of living derailed forces; they have missed the joy of life. For them its sweetest springs have not flowed. They have not been and are not physiologically environed. In addition there is an inherent flaw in their fundamental structure, as in the atomic structure of the iron. Superposed upon that is a broken physiological rail.

Karin Michaelis has written of the dangerous age in women. She might have equally well written of the dangerous age in the physiological unit. Its expressions are modified in the masculine half by reason of life's training, of his habits, and environment. That she has not represented the mass, nor yet the best of women, does not gainsay the truth underlying her theme. The physiological conditions at the bottom of all this unrest and turmoil is actively to the front with suffragettes, militant and nonmilitant. Among the ardent camp-followers are younger women to whom fruition is unknown and for whom a physiological balancing of life's strongest instincts is not established. Living under conditions where life's fullness is repressed, or fails of its physiologic expression, they follow the lead of maturity which, for the time at least, can only be regarded as a derailed force. In these that perfect balance, or poise, which tells of life's full fruition does not exist.

The lives of the erratic forces of whom the militant suffragettes may be taken as a type have somehow failed of their fulfillment. Their bodies enchain their liberty. They are storm tossed and at sea from the turmoil within, nor do they know how to reach that peace and content of mind which is the expression of physiological equilibrium.

Through a constant harking back the impressions made by life's lack of understanding and harmony have become indelibly engraved upon their submerged consciousness. These impressions concern the other half of the physiological unit, man, and are apt to be tintured with all of a woman's complex feelings toward him—jealousy, suspicion, resentment, anger and hatred, so near of kin to love.

Throughout earlier life these have but momentarily imaged themselves upon the conscious ego. These impressions, however, upon the subconscious mind become fixed and deepened under wrong physiological conditions, until they have the very semblance of truth. So deep and clearcut grows this graving that all sense of its untruth is lost.

Their greater numbers, as well as the frequent necessity of becoming commercial factors, compels the seeking of outlets for their repressed energies. These fail to provide the same stimulus to the chemism of life in this especial regard. Still further, the special activity taken on usually exacts its pound of flesh. The entire chemism of life suffers and the injury is expressed physically, mentally and normally.

Loss of control supervenes, and with that loss the forces of her subconscious ego, which have an inconceivable emotional range are let loose.

In the case of the militant suffragettes they are turned to window smashing, hunger strikes and outrageous attacks upon men in governmental and municipal power. No true physiological woman would be guilty of such conduct. Nor would these women to the same extent exhibit such loss of control had they but known the pitfalls and dangers awaiting unphysiological lives at this time.

There are occasional women who alone and unaided can take up the larger life as does the man. Do they safely outrage nature? Will there not come a time of reckoning? It is given to but few women to do this, and they only succeed who fix their eyes steadfastly upon the stars. The world never knows the cost to such as these because of their steadfastness, perfect poise and calm outlook. They are not common. To the eyes of the world they seem self-sufficient, yet they are not. No mortal is self-sufficient. If the need for full expression of their physiologic selves be not met and crowned, as is right, women, whatever their walk in life, are prone to become derailed forces, working havoc and devastation in their uncontrolled and uncontrollable fury.

Individual opinion as to the merits of the case in so far as suffrage is concerned has no place here. In their less stable emotional control and complexity due to their sex privilege, women are less desirable factors in matters demanding poise and judgment than men. Business training and environment are not without effect, but the bloom suffers impairment.—(From the *Medical Record*.)

GREAT ACTIVITY IN JERSEY

The last month has seen much activity in New Jersey in opposition to woman suffrage. Enthusiastic meetings have been held in Elizabeth, South Orange, Plainfield, Montclair, Glen Ridge, Newark and other cities and towns.

WILD OATS FOR WOMEN?

A writer in the *Yale Review* makes the following observations in an article apparently intended to prove that the protection of women had not led to a higher degree of virtue in the sex. This, of course, is a question quite impossible to prove or disprove. Men generally have preferred virtuous wives, or at least they alone are responsible for that prevailing idea; and, indeed, this writer grants that point, while apparently regarding it as a mere senseless prejudice. He says, "All varieties, however, write as one man upon the question of the conduct of the sex that gives them birth. She must be good or she must emigrate to the garish and definite district beyond the pale and stay there. So far, not even as a result of the modern rapid expansion of the civilized conscience, has anything been said about the girls sowing their wild oats."

The writer must be singularly out of touch with modern progressive feminism if he thinks that nothing has been said about wild oats for girls. We would counsel him before again embarking on this subject to study the works of Miss Inez Milholland, as well as those of all advanced Suffragists in foreign countries. Wild oats for women is not only extenuated, in many cases it is actively advocated, and not to be aware of this unfits one to come forward as an authority on the subject of the modern movement at all.

This writer goes on to say something with which we are ready fully to concur. "There is no reason to believe that women are not innately as immoral or unmoral as men, but they have held their propensities in leash—when they have—through pride, fastidiousness, fear, custom, or at the command of two forces more restraining still—maternity and religion."

An indignant repudiation of any responsibility for the sins of others is the Suffragist attitude concerning the present low standards both civic and moral among men. Points of view on this subject differ. It can do men little harm to be held strictly accountable for their failure to measure up to the best. It may even do them some good. But unfortunately with those extremities to which the feminine temperament is liable, Suffragists are going much further. They now hold that women are not even responsible for their own sins. That, we submit, is a step too far and we decline to group ourselves under the head of irresponsibles. If we allow ourselves the privilege of aping men's vices, we will at least accept the consequences like men. That, however, is not among the privileges we support and defend.

PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PROTEST:

About a year ago a letter of mine appeared in a suffrage magazine published in New York in which I said that woman's status before the law was comparable to a soldier's, that she was entitled, as a wife and mother, to rations and retired pay, but not to the vote. This letter was answered by a cartoon in the pages of the journal, representing a number of scrub-women at work, presumably in the foyer of a theater, while a number of scornful ladies sailed by them leaning on the arms of plutocrats. Underneath was some reference (the exact text I have forgotten) to the effect that "our Anti" says that women are entitled to "rations and retired pay."

Now the meaning of the cartoon if detached from a suffrage journal would have been simple enough and I should have agreed that the state of society is sad where widowed mothers can scarcely support their families even with the most wearing toil and no help is given them by husbands or sons. But as a suffrage proposition just what did this cartoon mean? Did it mean that the scornful ladies on the arms of plutocrats were going to improve the matter with votes or did it mean that there were no widowed mothers earning their living by the scrub-brush in suffrage States? Or did it mean that economic independence for women was not always quite so delightful as it sounded? It probably meant nothing at all but the usual appeal to the emotions.

The principle which I stated in my letter has now been recognized in thirteen States (five of them suffrage States). In six States widowed mothers are now assisted by a pension from the State on the same basis as a disabled soldier. It is thus clearly shown that in the view of the majority of thinking people the most essential service a woman can render to the State is to be a good mother. A soldier who risks his life in battle and receives injuries is not more handicapped in the struggle of life than the widowed mother of children, and the case is doubly hard for the soldier or the mother if they have others dependent on them. In the mother's case, she cannot save and manage nor teach her children industry and thrift because she must earn instead. "The curse of the poor is their poverty."

Anti-Suffragists are in favor of State aid for widowed mothers, but they are not so "logical" as to apply the same principle to "widowed" fathers. The duty of men to the State is evidently quite different from that of women. The State recognizes this fully in pensioning disabled soldiers and overburdened widows. Their status before the law is that of one who has a claim on the State because of a service rendered the State and a disadvantage sustained thereby.

Neither women nor soldiers are entitled to vote for two reasons. It is desirable in

the interest of the State that both women and soldiers should maintain the broadly patriotic and human standpoint of preservation, and not the factional spirit of party dissension. Our soldiers and women should be educated above the temptations to civil strife and desire of office. They should have the national, not the political outlook on life. In the case of pensions to mothers there is also the question of the welfare of the future citizen and the best conditions for his or her normal development. Pensions for mothers is an effort on the part of the State to preserve the home where it has been rendered doubly difficult by the loss of the natural breadwinner. Far from wishing to see maintenance and dower abolished, I, for one, shall hope for an extension of principle so that no poor widow with children will be dependent on her own unaided efforts while her children are dependent on her.

My point of view remaining unchanged since I wrote to the *Woman's Suffrage Journal*, I am still puzzling over the meaning of that cartoon. Will some authorized Suffragist enlighten me as to its meaning?

JULIA T. WATERMAN.

MOTHER'S SONS

All that I am, my mother made me.

—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

All that I am or hope to be I owe to my angel mother.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The future destiny of the child is always the work of the mother.

—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Children are what the mothers are; no fondest father's fondest care can so fashion the infant's heart, or so shape the life.

—WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR.

What is the true foundation of the State? Not the individual, as the revolutionary doctrine insists; no, but the family. It has been truly said that the revolutionary doctrine of atomism would be valid only in a community where every man should begin life as a foundling, and end it as a bachelor. * * *

He is born a member of society; in his turn he founds a like society; and his children repeat his life's story. In the family the truth is realized that no man liveth to himself and the essential lessons of duty and responsibility are learned; the family is the school of authority and respect; the family weds the gains of the past to the hopes of the future—its office is to "link the generations each to each." It is the microcosm of the State which may indeed be rightly viewed as the expanded family. But the first condition of family life is its stability; and the great instrument of that stability is pure religion-breathing household laws; the first of these laws being the indissoluble union of parents.—W. S. LILLY in "Nineteenth Century" (December, 1912).

OFFICIAL MICHIGAN VOTE

We wish to call attention to the following figures in regard to the vote in Michigan in the different counties. These figures are official. We have the result issued by the Commissioner of Elections tabulated by towns and counties from which this brief statement has been compiled.

Woman suffrage was defeated in Michigan by a majority of 96,144.

Seventeen of the eighty-three counties in Michigan gave a majority in favor of suffrage.

Twelve of these seventeen are "wet" counties and five of the seventeen are "dry" counties.

In other words, 70 per cent. of the counties giving a majority in favor of woman suffrage are "wet" counties and less than 30 per cent. of all the counties giving a majority in favor of woman suffrage are "dry" counties.

There are in Michigan thirty-three counties which are theoretically "dry" under the county prohibition system.

Of these thirty-three "dry" counties, twenty-eight voted against woman suffrage; 84 per cent. of the so-called "dry" counties of Michigan gave substantial majorities against woman suffrage.

There are fifty "wet" or non-prohibition counties in Michigan, of which thirty-eight voted against woman suffrage.

In other words, 76 per cent. of the "wet" counties of Michigan voted against woman suffrage as compared with 84 per cent. of the "dry" counties which voted against woman suffrage.

Twelve counties in Michigan voted for or against county prohibition on April 7, 1913, the same day on which woman suffrage was submitted to the electorate for the second time.

Every county voting on county prohibition on April 7, 1913, gave a majority against woman suffrage. The total majority against woman suffrage in the twelve counties where the "wet" and "dry" question was the paramount issue on the same day, was 12,733.

Six counties, Genesee, Ionia, Sanilac, Lenawee, Clinton and Montcalm, voted for county prohibition by an aggregate majority of 2,519 on April 7, 1913, and at the same time gave an aggregate majority of 7,026 against woman suffrage.

The other six counties, Emmet, Iosco, Huron, Jackson, Tuscola and Calhoun, voted against prohibition by an aggregate majority of 3,149 on April 7, 1913, and at the same time gave a majority of 5,707 against woman suffrage.

It is interesting to note that the majority of those counties which voted in favor of woman suffrage are small, sparsely populated counties situated either in the Upper Peninsular, or in the pine barrens of the back woods district of the Lower Peninsular.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Suffrage promises to end as the Tower of Babel did, in a confusion of tongues.

A writer signing "Equal Justice" in the *New York Times* remarks that suffrage means "*Movement, not Stagnation.*" Granted. But let "Equal Justice" remember Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous saying, "I find the great thing in this world is, not so much where we stand as in *what direction we are moving.*"

A bill has been passed by the Ohio Senate making it a misdemeanor to pay or receive money for the signing of initiative and referendum petitions. In some of the States that first adopted the initiative and referendum the obtaining of signatures for proposed popular legislation was at once commercialized. Agencies were established that made it a business to put through the petitions of those willing to pay for legislation they wanted.

Miss Blanche Vignes, chairman of the Stark Co. (Ohio) Equal Suffrage League, has announced that if women get the vote in Ohio the first legislation she will work for will be a measure compelling every woman to vote. This is hardly consistent with the constant suffrage plaint, "But no woman will have to vote who doesn't want to. Why do you mind other women voting?"

A special despatch to the *New York Times* from Milwaukee, May 13th, says: "The first public utterance of Archbishop Sebastian G. Messmer on the subject of woman suffrage was made at Watertown to-day at the convention of the State Federation of Catholic Societies.

"Universal, unlimited woman suffrage cannot be sanctioned because of the essential inequality of man and woman," said the Archbishop. "They are equals before God and the law, but by their constitution, natural gifts and endowments they have not the same character and must manifest their excellences in different ways."

THE BUSINESS OF BEING A WOMAN

By IDA M. TARBELL

This valuable book will be loaned on application to Mrs. Everett P. Wheeler, Newburgh, N. Y. Sent on deposit of \$1.00, which will be refunded when the book is returned.

Suffragists offer as unimpeachable testimony in their favor the opinions of gentlemen whose offices depend on women's votes. We should like something a little more convincing and more free from the imputation of an obvious motive.

THE UNREST OF WOMEN

By EDWARD S. MARTIN,

D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Edward S. Martin has a following gained long enough ago to assure him an audience for any subject, and when he turns all his keen and kindly humor, his direct and simple common sense, his tolerant philosophy on the question which so vitally concerns so many of us, he will not have to plead for a hearing. When he urged upon us, earnestly yet humorously, the "luxury of children" and bade us consider the "reflections of a beginning husband," he proved conclusively that he knows with real sympathy the minds of men and women and reads aright the inner motive force.

He takes a challenging subject, and under his comprehensive title, "The Unrest of Women," he groups a few of the papers contributed by him from time to time as his rather quiet and eminently sane analysis of the various situations as they have developed. The cry for "votes for women" he regards merely as a symptom of something far deeper and more disturbing than any political condition. In fact, he says that the franchise, if granted, would probably be like "a biscuit thrown to a whale," and he suggests that the unrest may be, not more prevalent, but "more vocal" than usual, and he states in no uncertain terms in his first chapter his convictions that for a woman the "great vocation is motherhood." It is in that that she is indispensable and unrivaled, and in that is the basis of her complete equality with man. In that she is the principal, not only in bearing children, but in rearing and training them as well. That is by so much the most important calling to which women must look forward that for the general run of women all the other employments are of negligible moment in comparison with it, and have to be considered on a basis of their relations to it.

He freely admits argument on any side issue of the subject; upon his fundamental hypothesis, just stated, he admits no argument at all.

His chapters are of an engaging frankness. By name—quite politely—but with a relentless logic he calls the attention of Miss Thomas of Bryn Mawr to her statement made in an address on "Woman's

Part in the Future." He does not criticize Miss Thomas' remark regarding the "terrible alternative" of marriage—he simply lets his civilly insistent quotation remarks drive home to the reader's mind the superlative folly of Miss Thomas' speech and of her view that study and research are to be regarded as ends in themselves. "Can it be," he asks, "that Miss Thomas feels that life is for study rather than study for life?"

With the "Agitation of Mrs. Belmont" he is somewhat more caustic. His remarks on the Constitution are well worth reading, and when Mrs. Belmont says that "Women will some day emerge from the mere physical sex facts that now hinder them," he replies, with some emphasis, "Women have been women a long time and their physical sex facts are not an invention on which the patent seems about to expire."

His sincere tribute to Miss Addams does not prevent his sticking a quiet pin in one or two of her pet balloons.

In the chapter on "Self-Supporting Wives" his whimsical analysis of who shall keep the home, while it makes one smile and sigh, leaves a very certain feeling that the home has got to be kept by somebody, if only for the self-supporting wife to rest her weary body and soul in, when her toil is over.

Very sympathetic is Mr. Martin's treatment, very simple, very fair, but he has a disconcerting way of following John B. Gough's advice, "If the truth takes you over Niagara, go." And "Over Niagara" is not just the port that the suffrage boat is endeavoring to make. "Feminism" is to the author a more important matter than suffrage, which he refuses the supreme place in this discussion of the women question, and in his word on "feminism and the dual standard" he says the sort of inevitable and obvious and hitherto unsaid thing that makes you wonder why on earth you didn't say it yourself—only neither you nor anyone else has thought of putting it that way. This chapter seems to be addressed chiefly to Miss Milholland.

"Some way," he remarks—and we might as well end here—"Altogether too many of the active Suffragists present as their credentials for the work of rearranging human life the glaring evidences of their failure to live it successfully as it is."

The book is worth reading—worth reading aloud in clubs—worth quoting from—worth sending for. It is not a heavy and argumentative treatise; the touch is light but sure; the temper is humorous but convincing. Timeliness is perhaps one of its greatest virtues and brevity its greatest fault.

GRACE DUFFIELD GOODWIN.

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